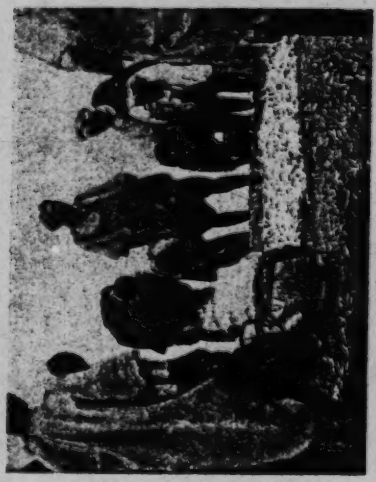
1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

291
142
492

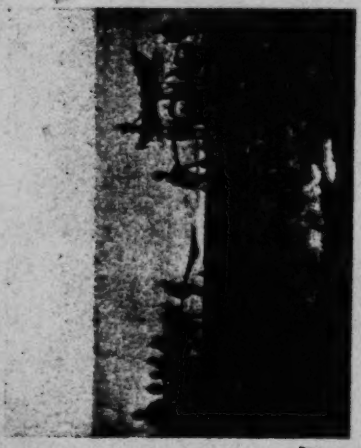
MOHAMMED LIMNIBHY

[frontispiece]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3



Beaching the catch, Tipuisa, Ghonara



226
291

[facing p.36]

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TRANSPORT 2

Donkey with *hallas* and *shouri*, Gzennaya

Donkey transport, Ajdir

492
291

Mule with *hallas* and *shouri*, Beni Bu Frah

Camels, showing method of attaching small loads, Metalsa

[facing p. 42]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

286 spun from black goat hair is put in as a weft by hand, without a shuttle, as in the case of the *azta*. The result of this process, a heavy, hybrid fabric, half textile and half matting, is used for tents.

Rug-making has not reached the high development among the Riffians which it has attained among the Shluh and Braber. Riffian rugs, woven on the *azta*, are coarse, harsh, and unattractive. The hooked-rug method, employed so effectively by the Beni Mgil and Beni Mtir of the Braber, is unknown. In fact, few rugs are made by the Riffians, who prefer to purchase them at Melilla and Fez.

386 All wool intended to be used in garments other than turbans and belts is thrown into a vat of dye before being carded or spun. The dyes used for coloring this raw wool are as 314 follows:

brown, made from boiled apple-leaves.
red, made from the bark of almond-tree roots, boiled.
yellow, made from pomegranate husks.
green, made from the water boiled out of *thaghigheshth* roots or cedar cones.
black, made from an imported mineral called *saj*.

386 These natural vegetable products are boiled in water, in which the wool is immersed and soaked. When it is taken out the colors are fast. Turbans and belts are dyed after they have been finished; when taken out of the dye they are rubbed with ashes, a process not considered necessary in the case of raw wool. Leather is dyed by exactly the same process as wool.

Tie-dyeing, called *thiafarsth*, is in some regions applied to cloth intended for use as turbans. The distribution is as follows: all Senhaja and Ghomara, and all tribes between them and Tangier.

CLOTHING

291 Riffian clothing was formerly made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven.
177 At present many garments are made of imported cotton cloth, and others of silk. In this compilation of garment-types most attention will be paid to the older elements of Riffian dress, the distribution of which alone is significant.

Masculine Attire. *ajjab*, the jellaba, is a woolen cloak with short sleeves and a hood.
[171] The jellaba is found all over North Africa and is not a distinctive Riffian garment, except as it differs in minor details from jellabas worn by other Berber or Arab groups. The Riffian jellaba is notably shorter than the average, reaching only to the knees, and its hood less broad than the hoods of the Ghomara and other western groups. The Riffian jellaba has definite shoulders; in the western type the transition from hood to sleeve is lacking. The Riffian jellaba is always either dark brown or black, but in other areas white, striped, or other colored types are worn. Furthermore, the Riffian jellaba can be readily distinguished by its embroidery, which will be treated separately. The jellaba is exclusivley a masculine garment. (See plates 25 and 27.)

er serham, the silham, is a cloak resembling the jellaba, but lacks sleeves and is generally much longer and more flowing. The silham is typical of the Braber and Shluh of the Atlas,
[171] and is likewise worn by the nomadic peoples south of the Atlas. In the Rif its use is limited to the nomadic tribes of the Garet. Until recently the silham was worn by both the Metalsa

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291 and Beni Bu Yahyi. At present the Metalsa have entirely discarded it, and the Beni Bu Yahyi wear it only on festive occasions. (See plate 25.)

thakhidusth. Three generations ago all Riffians wore a garment resembling a silham, but reaching only to the waist. This garment had a hood, lacked sleeves, and was heavily embroidered. It was worn over the jellaba and was considered highly decorative. The *thakhidusth* was woven on the woman's loom, as was the silham; jellaba cloth is always woven on the newer horisontal or man's loom.

thashbiar, a woolen shirt. The sleeves of this garment reach to mid-forearm, its collar opens on one side, and entrance for the head is permitted by a slit reaching along one side of the shoulder from the opening in the neck to the top of the sleeve. (See plate 25.) The collar is fastened by a looped string. This type of shirt is made of white wool, is very heavy, and is elaborately embroidered with colored silk. The lower edge, called *thimuar*, is ornamented by a row of heavy silken tassels called *thikhemesin*. This shirt is nearly as long as the jellaba, and is never tucked into the trousers. Over the *thashbiar* the Riffian men sometimes wear another shirt, called by the same name and identical in form, except that the neck of the over-shirt is cut low enough for easy insertion of the head. At present woolen shirts of this type are difficult to find, since manufactured cotton cloth has been adopted almost universally in place of the heavier woolen material. The style and design have, however, remained the same.

saarwair (Arabic *serwal*), trousers, entered the Rif at the same time as American cotton cloth, called *melikan*, about a generation ago. The trousers made from this cloth are very broad and baggy, and reach to a point just below the knee. The front and back are indistinguishable, except for a reënforcement patch at the rear, put on when the trousers are made. The tailor uses several yards of cloth and does not waste a scrap of material. Embroidery is confined to the narrow cuffs; the trousers are held up by a string like pyjamas. (See plate 25.) Another distinct type of trouser is found in the Ghomara, very short, open, and wide, reaching only to mid-thigh and exposing the lower part of the abdomen. The Riffians ridicule the Ghomarans when they see them thus attired. The Riffian type is found throughout the Rif and Senhaja Sghir except among the Nomads, Ktama, and Beni Hamid. The Ghomaran type appears in Ghomara and Western Arabophone Senhaja.

The garments just described were, with the exception of headgear and footgear, the only ones worn by the Riffians before the advent of Abd el Krim. During the early stages of the [177] conflict with Spain, the Riffians, become in some cases affluent, went to Fez as tourists and brought home new and strange articles of clothing, notably the *bida'ia*, a woolen or felt vest of loud color, buttoning to the neck by means of many knotted tassels, and the *ferrajia*, a similar garment, reaching below the knees and equipped with broad, flowing sleeves. This latter garment resembles closely the familiar *kaftan*.

There are four principal types of masculine headgear, which will be described in the order of their antiquity.

1. *thaghareft*, a long narrow strip of stiff woolen cloth, with one end tapering and the other flat and broad. The flat, broad end is stuck up behind on the back of the head, and the tapering end tucked in when the turban has been wrapped around the head. This *thaghareft* forms a narrow turban which leaves the top of the head bare, and gives the appearance of a crown with an eminence behind. It is covered with heavy embroidery. The *thaghareft* is at present rare and difficult to obtain, partly because it has gone out of style,

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CLOTHING 1

291

Left, jellaba with hood up. Right, typical Riffian trousers. Iberrushen, Gzennaya

Normal way of wearing jellaba. Ajdir

Silham worn over jellaba by man from Beni Znassen (uniform of Spanish *mokhazniye*)

Shirt with shoulder-slit and cord attachment at neck. Iberrushen, Gzennaya

[facing p. 80]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

and partly because it was part of Abd el Krim's uniform and would therefore throw suspicion upon the wearer as a rebel sympathizer. It is still worn, curiously enough, by many of the native *mokhazniya*, gendarmes in the employ of the Spanish military authorities.

2. *furu*. This is a collection of strings of camel's-hair yarn, roughly parallel, and cross-tied just often enough to keep the whole combination together. The *furu* is twisted about the head as a turban just as is the *thagharefi*, leaving the top of the head similarly bare. The camel's hair comes from the tribes of Beni Bu Yahyi and Metalsa. It is dyed brown for ordinary wear and red for weddings. The *furu* came in after the *thagharefi*, and like it was worn by individuals here and there in every tribe, according to personal taste.

3. *thaamanth*, a yellow kerchief, silk embroidered, worn as a turban. This is of European manufacture and introduction.

4. *arisith*, a white cotton turban (see plate 25), likewise of European manufacture. In adopting the white turban the Riffians have reached the final step of imitating the Arabs. All the previous types of headgear mentioned were distinctively if not uniquely Riffian, but the *rezza*, as the Arabs call it, in no way distinguishes them from the rest of Moroccans. It has not yet attained universal distribution, being worn only by the least conservative elements in each tribe The fes, or *sheshia*, as it is called in Morocco, has not yet appeared except in the tribes of Galiya and Kebdana.

The Riffians in the Spanish zone will probably become Europeanised in dress before they submit completely to Arab notions of sartorial accoutrement, since the Riffians have fewer inhibitions against European civilization than against that of the Arabs. However, European dress among them is at present confined to the very few who have become officers in the Spanish army and to chauffeurs, mechanics, and the like in Melilla.

Riffians never appear in public without some form of belt and a scrip, or bag.

thaghugat is the generalized term for men's belts, which are always made of leather. The ordinary type is about two inches broad, undecorated, and fastened by a buckle in front. *thaghugat n tayish* is a special belt worn at weddings, much broader, covered with silken embroidery, and frequently embellished with tassels. *thaghugat er knenth* is a leather cartridge belt, with pockets for the clips of cartridges which fit into the ordinary Mauser, or Spanish army rifle. *thazabutch*, the scrip or leathern bag, does not hang from the belt, but is supported by a separate strap, called *iyarusith*, passing over the shoulder opposite to the side on which the bag is worn. The old style bags used in the days of the flintlock rifle were very large and contained many pockets, in which were kept powder, lead balls, emergency rations, knives, papers, and other small objects which among us would be carried in pockets. These bags were ornamented with silk embroidery and long leather fringes and tassels. (See plate 27.) The designs were both rectilinear and curvilinear, the curvilinear designs usually being floral. The bags were also decorated by great areas of inlaid colored leather, a technique which had died out but which is now being revived by Taghsuthi workmen in French shops at Rabat.

Accompanying the large bag of former times, a powder horn made from the horn of the aoudad, called the *ish n wulhath*, depended from the belt. The use of these horns has died out, owing to the advent of cartridges and the scarcity or possible extinction of the aoudad.

The bags and belts which typified the Rif of a hundred years ago were made exclusively at a village called Iyarusith in the tribe of Temsaman. The craft has long been extinct there, however, and now the belts and bags used in the Rif are made locally or are imported

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from Taghzuth. The Taghzuthis, who were craftsmen only in powder and firearms, have within the last generation taken over leatherwork and set themselves up as the foremost manufacturers of belts and bags. The Taghzuthi work is characterised by the stitching of narrow strips of colored leather diagonally in rows so as to form lines. These lines are always straight, and the designs produced by them form isosceles triangles and zigzags. Until recently white and green were the only colors employed for this purpose, but since the Spanish occupation other colors have come in, and the work has become coarser. (See plate 27.) Besides the ordinary belts and bags, the Taghzuthis now make wrist-watch straps and handbags, the former for the Spanish army, and the latter to be sent to the ports of the French zone and thence to America, and, to a lesser extent, to England and France.

Other old centers of the manufacture of bags and belts were Beni Misawr, a sub-tribe of el Khmes of the Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Beni Mohammed, situated between Beni Zerwal and el Khmes. The design on these Jebalan bags is curvilinear rather than rectilinear, and is characterized by three circles side by side on the front. The effect is produced by the stitching of leather strips, as at Taghzuth, and not by silk embroidery, as at Iyarusith of Temsaman.

Feminine Attire. Like men's clothing, the garments of women were formerly made entirely of wool. *thawthat*, the principal garment, consists of a long rectangular piece of woolen cloth. The upper corner of one end is held under the left armpit, with the lower corner falling by the left knee. The cloth is then wrapped around the body, from front to back, until it reaches the front again. A belt holds it together at the waist, and it is caught up back and front by each shoulder and fastened there by wooden pins or brooches. (See plate 26.) These brooches, called *thisghanes*, are made by Jews in Melilla, in the Jebarna section of the Shawia of Gzennaya, at Bades, and in Beni Bu Frah. The *thisghanes* consist of a triangular piece of silver or pewter, to which is attached a loose ring of the same material; there is a gap in the ring, through which the point end of the pin, of one piece with the triangle, may pass. To pin cloth together with this device, the ring is turned until the gap coincides with the pin; then the pin is thrust through the material, and the ring pressed beneath it and turned, so that it must stay under the pin. This type of brooch is not confined to the Rif, but is commonly found throughout North Africa.

thaghugat, the belt, bears the same name as the men's belt, although it is an entirely different object. The old style woman's belt is made of many cords of heavy woolen yarn of different colors caught together, and is locally considered an object of great beauty. This belt is wound around the waist many times, and a long end is left dangling behind. Ghomaran women wear broad belts of native cloth. (See plate 26.) *thaghugat n malagha*, the belt of Malaga, is a long red woolen belt with fringes at the end, manufactured in Spain and sold to the Riffians at Melilla. It is fast supplanting the heavier belt of native manufacture.

Feminine headwear is of two principal varieties:

1. *ifiran n thimgharin*, or women's braids, consist of long black threads of woolen yarn, which are braided into the hair near where it ends and then downward until they nearly touch the ground. Three of these *ifiran* are braided into each braid, and since the women divide their hair into two braids six *ifiran* are worn by each woman. The hair, supplemented by these long strands of black wool, may be left trailing or else tied around and around the head like a turban.

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2. *thashumbushth*, a cotton headcloth, tied over the bunched-up hair, is a more recent type of headdress which came in with the introduction of American cotton cloth. (See plate 26.) This cloth is generally white, although red and yellow are occasionally used. In the region where tie-dyeing is practiced a headcloth decorated in this manner is worn.

The garments just described, the *thawthat* and *ifiran*, were formerly the only garments worn by women, in winter as well as in summer. On exceptionally cold days women might occasionally put on a second *thawthat*, bringing it up over the head like a shawl.

el haik is the Arab haik, or woman's shawl. There is no word for this in the Riffian dialects. It is simply a square piece of cloth worn as a shawl. (See plate 26.) It is to be found in Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, Senhaja Sghir, Beni Mesduy, Targuist, all Eastern Arabophone Senhaja but Marnissa, Beni Krama, and Branes. *hash*, the men's haik, has been given a Riffian name. This is a light thinly-woven woolen scarf worn around the neck and back of the head, and generally tucked into the neck of the jellaba in front. It is considered of Arab origin, and is distributed through Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, Temsaman, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Shawia and Beni Mohammed of Gzennaya.

Since cotton cloth has come in, women's garments are losing their simple form and becoming tailored. Sleeved shirts, open at the neck and embroidered, are worn with wide trousers like those of the men and the red belts of Malaga. The result is a costume entirely different from that of a few years ago, but more decorative. This type of garment has not yet supplanted the *thawthat*, however, since the old style is still maintained by the older women and by many of the younger ones as well. As with other factors of material culture which depend on European introduction for their diffusion, the pattern of their dissemination seems to be sporadic and voluntary, and without cultural significance.

The garments of men are tailor-made by *tolba*, or students in the mosque, and women's garments must be made by the women themselves, although often men who have been students and have learned the art of embroidery make and embroider their wives' garments for them.

The silk with which embroidery is done is now largely European, and its dyes are not fast. Formerly all the silk used came from Tetwan, and often was not dyed until it arrived in the Rif; hence the dyes, the same as employed on wool and leather, were always fast. The Tetwan silk is still considered superior, but is increasingly difficult to obtain. There is no reason to believe that this native silk was not imported into the Rif in very early times, or since the inception of silk-worm cultivation in Morocco after the advent of the Arabs. El Bekri says that the Meknassa, a group just south of Gzennaya, paid tribute to the king of Nekor in cloth from Merv.[1]

The designs, the same as those formerly put on the bags and belts of Temsaman, are both curvilinear and rectilinear, the triangular or saw-toothed design predominating. A favorite design is a square capsule, decorated on the inside with sawteeth, and surmounted on the small ends with curved lines reminiscent of the ancient Libyan ostrich plumes. Designs found by Bates to be characteristic of the ancient Libyans are still recognizable in Riffian embroidery.[2] A favorite design employed on the hoods of jellabas and on the cuffs

[1] El Bekri, p. 167.

[2] Bates (*The Eastern Libyans*, Pl. III, and pp. 137, 139, 140) gives drawings of similar Libyan designs, mainly in the form of tattoo marks.

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294 531 is a cogged wheel with four spokes. On the hood this design is complete, but on the cuff only half of it is represented. This design is difficult to explain, owing to the utter absence of wheels for purposes of traction in the Rif, unless it be connected with a prehistoric sun-motif.

Riffian embroidery is characterized by another peculiar feature, the presence of short tufts of silk set at intervals on the borders of the designs. The tufts are much more prominent in the embroidery of the Maritime tribes of the western Rif and of the Ghomara than in that of the eastern or central Rif. (See plate 27.)

●291 **Footwear.** Footwear was formerly restricted to men, women going barefoot at all times. The harshness of this prohibition was somewhat mitigated by the fact that women seldom went out of doors in winter when snow was on the ground.

Masculine footwear is divided into sandals, buskins, stilts, and clogs, and these types have a most significant and interesting distribution. There are two kinds of sandals (*tbisira*), those made of *halfa* grass and those made of scrub palmetto.

The *halfa* sandals are constructed as follows: the maker braids a rope of *halfa*, about eight to ten feet long. He then ties this in a ring, and presses it to an oval representing the size and shape of the foot. The long piece, dangling from the knot, he draws between the sides of the oval so as to make a third strand in the middle, and runs what is left over and under these three pieces until the intervening spaces have all been filled in. Thus he has obtained a flat foot-shaped sole. By loosening strands, he inserts the remaining cord, still uncut, so as to form straps for attachment. The cord goes around the heel in back, and crosses itself over the toes, not going between any of the toes. The loose end is cut to a convenient length, and when the sandals have been put on and the cord tightened, it is tied at the cross in the front-straps. This makes an extremely convenient and durable sandal, easily put on and taken off, and one that will not slip on rocks or come off unexpectedly. (See plate 28.)

The palmetto sandals are made as follows: the maker braids a long cord of palmetto leaves, and coils these into a flat oval; then with a thinner cord of the same material and a wooden needle he sews the sole together from side to side; the resultant sole is the same type as that of the rope sandals worn by the Basques and by many Spaniards. This sole is, of course, but one braid in thickness, and is not nearly so durable as that of the *halfa* sandal.

The palmetto sandal differs from the *halfa* type not only in the construction of its sole but also in its attachment to the foot. In the palmetto type the cord left over from the sole is cut free, knotted at one end, and then run through the sole from beneath at a point between the great and second toes. From here it is looped through one side of the sole, carried around so as to form a heel-strap, looped through the other side, and attached to itself at a point two inches from where it emerges from the sole, between the toes. This attachment may be spliced in and permanent, or tied on and temporary, permitting later adjustment. The straps on the *halfa* sandal are always tied so that they may be adjusted later. (See plate 28.)

The toe-strap sandal is much easier to slip on and off than the cross-strap type, but is not nearly so durable. The sole wears out much more quickly than that of the cross-strap type, and the toe-strap is likely to pull through the sole. Thorns and other sharp objects pierce the toe-strap type, but seldom penetrate the cross-strap variety.

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CLOTHING 2

Ghomaran woman with haik and leggings

Ghomaran girls, wearing haiks and broad cloth belts

291
142
301

Taghsuthi woman wearing *thouthat* with brooches

Taghsuthi woman with *thouthat*, showing attachment

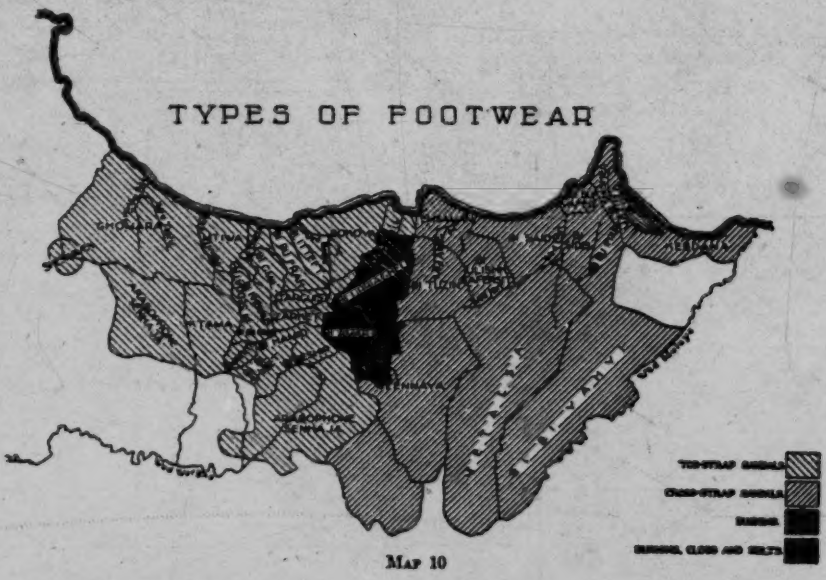
[facing p. 84]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

291

Both these types are so easily made by everyone in the regions in which they are found that their life is of small moment. In other regions, however, where they must be purchased, they are valued more, hence the cross-strap variety alone is bought.

The *halfa* sandal is distributed through Branes, Beni Mohammed, Khebaba, Shawia, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Beni Tuzin, Beni Bu Yahyi Galiya, Kebdana, Beni Said, and Temsaman. The palmetto sandal is found in Ajdir of Beni Urriaghel, Bokoya, Beni Hadifa, all the Western Maritime tribes, Targuist, Beni Mesduy, all the Senhaja but Branes, and all Ghomara.



MAP 10

airkasen are leather buskins. In winter the mountaineers of the central Rif tie their feet up in cloths and step into square pieces of raw cowhide or wild-boar hide, with the hair out. These squares of hide are then drawn up about the toes and ankles and sewn into place with thongs. As the leather hardens the holes gape open permanently, so that the *airkasen* can be taken on and off without inconvenience. This type of footwear is found among the Braber and Shluh; among the Glawa tribe in the Atlas it has developed into a variety of moccasin. This further development is not, however, found in the Rif. The Riffian buskin is more nearly comparable to the proto-moccasins found in the Basket-maker remains in the American Southwest,[1] and represents the first step toward the manufacture of a moccasin. The North Albanian *opinga* is practically the same thing. The *airkasen* are worn in

[1] Judging from observation of specimens in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, collected by Noel Morss.

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291 Beni Amart, all Beni Urriaghel but Ajdir, Temjunt, Iherrushen, Ikhuanen, Inhanahan, Iherrassen, and Bured.

Of these types of footwear tradition has it that the crude *airkasen* were the earliest and were formerly worn over a much wider area than at present;[1] and that sandals, of both palmetto and *halfa*, were introductions from outside.

In recent times Arab slippers with turn-under heels, called by the Riffians *iherkusen*, have become somewhat popular in the Rif. They are an inferior type of footwear, owing to the difficulty of keeping them on without shuffling. Of imported shoes the only type which has become at all popular is the American sneaker, or tennis-shoe, which has found many users, especially in the east around Melilla and in the region of Ajdir. French army brogans are sometimes worn by men in military service, but are generally cut away at the heels so that they can be taken off without trouble when entering a house.

Beside these normal types of footwear, and their modern rivals, one finds two specialized types used only in rainy weather:

ikabkaben, clogs, are made from single pieces of wood, flat, shaped to the foot, and carved so as to have two cross-props beneath, running at right angles to the axis of the foot, one beneath the ball of the foot and the other under the heel. These clogs are attached with straps made of dried bull's penis, after the same style as the attachment of the western or palmetto type of sandal. When used by women this attachment is thought unseemly, and a piece of cowhide is nailed across the front to serve as a toe.

mawus, stilts, are made of single pieces of wood, chosen so that a fork low down on the shaft will serve as a foot rest. They are worn in wet weather and in snow, and are used as playthings by the children in all weather. The stilts and clogs have an identical distribution: Beni Amart, Mountain Urriaghel, Temjunt, Ikhuanen, Iherrushen, and Inhanahan.

In addition to these types of footwear, a peculiar form of legwear, found in the west, may be mentioned. The women of the region of Sheshawen and of the Ghomara wear leather leggings made of stiff hide, tied around the calves and ankles with straps. (See plate 26.) These are worn to protect the legs from the brush, for women spend a great deal of time on the mountains cutting brush for charcoal, a task which in the Rif properly belongs to men. Curiously enough, women who wear these go barefoot. These leggings are found in Ghomara, Western Arabophone Senhaja, and Ktama (formerly Taghsuth).

TATTOOING

304 582 Tattooing in the Rif is practiced upon women as a prerequisite for marriage, and, less frequently, for the same purpose upon men. When a girl is sure that she is to be married, that is, when all arrangements for her wedding have been made, her family calls in an old woman of the same *awar*, or sociological family, who is proficient in the art; if there is no such old woman available one is called in from outside. If the artist is related to the victim no fee is paid, otherwise a small sum is given her by the girl's parents.

304 The old woman collects lamp-black from the bottoms of cooking pots, and mixes this with juice squeezed from the leaves of broad-beans. She sets to work with a knife and needle, working both by pricking and incising the skin. She works fairly rapidly so that the wounds will all be healed on the final day of the wedding. It is considered shameful for

[1] Marmol (chap. 79) says that the Beni Bu Shibet wore these buskins.

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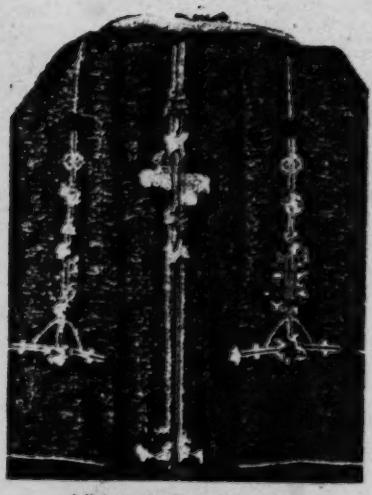
CLOTHING 3

291
293
531

Taghzuthi scrip



Jellaba embroidery, Temsaman

Embroidery on woman's shirt.
Beni Urriaghel

Old Riffian scrip

[facing p. 88]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

PLATE 28

FOOTWEAR

291

Cross-strap sandal, made of *halfa*. Galiya

Toe-strap sandal, normally made of palmetto fiber. (This particular specimen was made of American marsh-grass by a Riffian)

[facing p. 92]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

875 2 or 3 measures (18 liters each) of oil, 20 to 25 *mudd* of raisins, and two pounds or thereabouts of butter from each adult man possessing one or more milch cows.

The pupils are supposed to bring money with them on the last day before the vacation; this is for the schoolmaster. Each pupil brings half a dollar at *aid el kebir*, a quarter of a dollar at *aid es sghir*, ten *soldi* (two *grush*) at *'ashor*, and fifteen *soldi* (three *grush*) at *el mulud*. At *haggus* the schoolmaster does not collect any money, but the families of the children send him food consisting of chickens, bowls of honey and butter, and various cooked dishes.

[291 872 During the vacations all the pupils sleep in the village mosque. They wear no jellabas, but dress in clean new shirts girded with Taghzuthi belts of many colors. They go around in a group from house to house in the *bone* and in all the *bones* of the *canton*, and sit in each house to recite a chapter of the Koran. When they have finished, the mistress of the house gives them eggs, chickens, and other foodstuffs. Later they cook these things in the mosque and feast and disport themselves all night. They play games, and often play at being a council, a sultan and his court, or a judge with plaintiffs and defendants.

875 774 The *fkih* of the cantonal mosque, the "preceptor," [1] is appointed by the council of the great. When he dies, moves, or for some other reason ceases to be preceptor, they appoint another. He may be a stranger or a native of the *canton*. He is paid annually three to four hundred *mudd* of barley, and butter, oil, and other products in proportion. The preceptor has charge of the land belonging to the cantonal mosque and works it with the warden, or hires share-laborers to work it, taking one half the produce and the mosque receiving half. He thus controls a considerable income.

872 574 431 When the pupils of the *bone* have learned the Koran by heart, they graduate and go to the cantonal mosque. Graduation is called *er kheithmith*, and is also frequently termed "the wedding of the sixty *haiseb*," the sections of the Koran. It does not occur at any fixed time of year; whenever the student has fulfilled the requirements to the satisfaction of the preceptor of the cantonal mosque he is admitted. The graduation is accompanied by a feast given in the student's honor, attended by his family, invited guests, and fellow students. His father sacrifices a cow, some meat from which is eaten. *Seksu* and honey are likewise eaten upon this occasion. The guests usually bring gifts with them. Gifts, in the Rif, usually consist of edibles, and especially things which cost money, such as sugar and tea. Candles are also in this category.

871 This system of education is widespread, and is found in all the sedentary tribes. Among the nomadic tribes only wealthy men send their children to school, which consists of a special tent occupied by a schoolmaster and moved, when the camp moves, by different men in rotation.

[21a 789] In the cantonal mosque the students [2] learn to improve their writing, since many of them fail to learn to write well in the village mosque, where most attention is paid to memorizing the Koran. In the cantonal mosque they also learn magic, studying obscure books and compiling from the Koran and from other sources charts to be used as lexicons in magic.

[1] So translated to distinguish this *fkih* from the schoolmaster, and partly because the preceptor is a religious teacher as well as an educator.

[2] Students who have graduated from the village mosque are called *taleb* (plural *tolba*). Since in the text the pupils attending the village mosque have in every case been specified as such, there is no need for qualification of the word *student* as used in translation of *taleb*.

777 356 Considering how dangerous a broom may be, it is not surprising to hear that a person who finds one on the road does not care to pick it up (Ait Waryager).

787 ●291 789 [596] Slippers are associated with beliefs referring to locomotion. If a man on taking off his slippers accidentally leaves one over the other, it means that he is going to travel (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman, Aglu); if a woman does so, her husband believes that she is thinking of going to somebody else (Aglu). On the other hand, a slipper whichis turned upside down is a bar to locomotion. If a person wants to prevent other people from entering his house or coming to the place where he happens to be—so [597] as not to have to share his meal with a stranger or for some other reason—he turns one of his slippers (Tangier) or the left one (Amzmiz, Igliwa) upside down, or puts it in such a position inside the entrance (Hiaina, Fez [the left slipper]). So also a person prevents the return of an unwelcome visitor who has just left his house by putting one of his slippers or both upside down at the door (Hiaina, Tangier, Ait Waryager, Temsaman).

291 576 An intimate relation is considered to exist between a person and his slippers; to sit on somebody's slippers is the same as to sit on his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager) or "his heart" (Aglu), and to spit on them the same as to spit in his face (Tangier, Ait Waryager).

231 [598] If a domestic animal has a tendency to run away, its owner cures it by putting into its ear some ear-wax from another animal of the same species (Ait Waryager).

[599] In the same district the mistress of the house also puts the pup on the handmill on a Sunday morning before sunrise and moves it round three times, saying, Tahhant ak nhar l-had, ma t halli kra' ed had, "I ground you on a Sunday, don't allow the foot of anybody [to enter the house]". Among the Ait Waryager she places the dog by the side of the handmill on a Sunday and turns the handle round three times, at the same time giving a name to the dog. She then makes it eat dry rabbit's dung and the pounded root of a blackberry bush mixed with water—the rabbit's dung in order that it shall become a good hunter and the root that it shall become dangerous to strangers, as are the thorns of the blackberry bush to anybody touching it. In either case it was said that the object of turning round the handmill was to make the dog a good watch-dog, the harsh noise of the mill producing in it a tendency to snarl. If a jackal attacks a

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

628 quered group eventually decided to leave the country; almost no one was left but old men, women and children, who sought refuge in the sacred mountain of Zarhūn (where Mūlāy Idrīs, the first Sultan of Morocco, is buried), after having sold all their property in order to try to hire a man who would avenge their dead. The vengeance plan was carefully worked out, and the *'adūl* made the following stipulations: 10.000 riyāls if the bullet killed an enemy; 5.000 if it wounded one; and 2.500 if it missed its mark. In any event, the hired killer was usually found the next day with a bullet through his own head, due as often as not to the careful marksmanship of a small boy hidden behind a lentiscus bush.

To give further evidence of lengths which the people of Aith Wuryāghil used to go to put their enemies out of the way, I was told by one of my informants that someone had once insulted his father. The father, an *amghār* or councillor of considerable repute in his own village (Aith Mūsā u 'Amar of Aith 'Alī), would not brook the insult, and promised his *akhammās* a new *jillāb* (11) and a considerable sum of money if he disposed of the insulter. The *akhammās* went out on his master's errand, but seems to have had a change of heart somewhere during his journey, for he decided that he personally had no quarrel with the other party. Thus there was no reason to kill him. But, with the prospect of a fat reward in his pocket, he

291 (11) (Riffian **ajdab**): a woolen cloak with sleeves and hood worn by men. In the days before Abd al-Karim it was made of brown home-spun and reached the knees only; today ankle-length jillabs are much more in vogue, and the younger generation prefers them made of European cloth. The old woolen turban, **thaghrafth**, is also no longer worn, and has been replaced by a white cotton turban among the older men; the younger ones, particularly those who have traveled outside the Rif, prefer the tarbush. The trousers have become baggier in recent years as well; the only item of distinctly Riffian clothing which remains is the toe-strap sandal of esparto grass. It is interesting to note that the old short and decorated Riffian jillaba can only be seen today in the Ghumara.

Women's clothing on the other hand, is far more conservative. The women of Aith Wuryaghil wear a silken band around the head, tied in the back, over which is placed a cotton shawl; a long cotton or silk shirt (if cotton, it is white; if silk, red or yellow) coming to the knees, with blue trousers underneath, coming to halfway between knees and feet; and a heavy red woolen belt. Most women go barefoot, but some, like many of the men, have adopted Spanish sneakers (alpargatas). Both sexes wear babouches (Riffian **tharkusen**, Arabic **blaghi**) only on festival occasions, provided they are rich enough to afford them.

000 sought to remedy them.

671 This qanun, from a social standpoint, shows certain differences
671 from the others. We may appreciate, for example, in these men of the
181 Mediterranean coast their greater contact with European civilization,
[177] how they struggle to rise from the mass, emerging from the anonymity in which the ritual words "adults and minors" are apt to encircle them, from these words which in many qanuns designate those who attend their council meetings, from which there only stands out in any decorative fashion some religious individual (i.e. a sharif or murabit), which was more in conformity with their communistic (sic!) society.

181 In the same manner as today, the city dweller wishes to rise from
369 the rural mass, holding on with doubtful pleasure to the easy means
554 of using shoes, visiting cards, gloves, tombstones and cigarettes,
177 in the European style. The city dweller, by the mere fact of lengthen-
369 ing his jillab[71] and putting on shoes, if not sneakers[72], considers
554 himself on a higher level than his rural fellow-countrymen, although
291 his mentality is analogous and his virtues inferior.

369 The countryman has an opinion of the European which borders
829 on indifference, as he neither feels cravings to imitate him nor ape his manner. The city dweller envies the European, and for this reason he imitates him and hates him.

369 Thus the vivacious city dwellers, when they wish to gain the sympathy of their fellow countrymen and, on being forced to intern themselves in the country[73], try to imitate the latter ostentatiously[74] .....although this by no means lets them succeed in escaping the ironic judgments of these astute countrymen.

585 Gift exchanges of this sort, however, are part of an ongoing
571 system, rooted in past transactions and perpetuating future
431 obligations. If, for example, a man paid $300 for a wedding
182 and received back $300 in gifts, the account would by no means be balanced. Unless the man were wealthy, the original $300 was accumulated through a network of previous obligations and the subsequent $300 has set up a whole new series of obligations.
[426] There are few Riffians who are owed no debts and owe no debts to others. The system is rarely in even balance where one's debts are equal to one's credits. It is a system of exchange guided entirely by its own rules and completely divorced from commercial exchange. Its ability to work as a system is guaranteed by the pride and honor of the participants.

585 The final ceremonial act involves a feast held on the
574 seventh day following the last day of the wedding. On this day the immediate relatives (father and mother) of the bride see her for the first time since she left their home. This is a much smaller ceremony, involving only the close relatives of
[431] the two families involved. On this occasion, in addition to the food provided by the host, small gifts are given the bride by her own family. This celebration is socially important because the groom's family wishes to impress upon the visitors
585 how well their daughter has married. This sentiment seems to
574 be particularly felt among the women associated with the groom's
152 family. They are placed in a strained position since the bride's
[292] party are dressed in their finest guest costume, while the women
[291] of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes.

443 438 occasion is some indication of the poverty of the land in which they live.

Throughout the year there are long rows of hardware and spice booths where a wide variety of non-indigenous products are sold, including cakes of soap, toothpaste, mirrors, nails, locks, cooking utensils, drinking glasses, matches, and plastic jewelry. [263] The spices include red pepper, paprika, black pepper kernels, stick cinnamon, curry, and saffron. Off in another section are men selling blankets, rugs, and clothing, both new and old. [291] [177] While men can buy both Western and traditional clothes, the only type of dress available for women is traditional. It is perhaps fortunate that the native dress is so loose-fitting, since the men purchase these garments for their wives with only the roughest notion of sizes. There are also people selling [372] [373] articles made from cane or palmetto--brooms, baskets, and so forth, as well as vendors of kerosene, the only source of light for the fellah. Outside the market is a specially walled-off area, the livestock market; there cows, goats, and sheep are sold. Some of these are bought directly by the butchers who prepare the meat for immediate sale; others are sold to merchants who transport the animals to the richer province of Nader where they are fattened for resale.

443 445 463 231 In addition to these merchants, there are people who have a service to sell. Included in these are the butchers, who are perhaps the most prominent of this group in that they handle the largest volume of business. They arrive early at the market,

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

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Fig. 3. Clothing: *a*, young man of the Rif; *b*, elderly man of Jbala; *c*, boy's costume; *d*, townsman; *e*, woman of Jbala; *f*, woman of Sanhaja as-Srair; *g*, woman of the Rif; *h*, *i*, urban women.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

and Aith Wariyaghar, and the wheel-made pottery in Ibuqquyen, Aith Tuzin, and Thimsaman. Basketry is made by coiling, twilling, and wickerwork. In the manufacture of woolen textiles two types of loom are employed: in most of the northern zone an upright two-bar loom with stick heddle is used; another type of loom is a horizontal mechanism, with looped wire heddles, operated by a treadle. In Garet, long braids of alfa grass are tied to stakes to form a crude loom for weaving textiles.

Differences in types of houses and in settlement patterns provide further evidence of cultural diversity. Jbala, Gharma, and Sanhaja as-Srair represent one tradition, while the Rif, Garet, and Gal'aya represent another. The sharp division between sloping roofs in the western half of the zone and flat roofs in the area east of Targist (see chap. v) coincides with the difference in settlement pattern between the hamlets of the west and the scattered farmsteads of the east.

In Morocco, as in most of the Muslim world, it is easy to distinguish between the clothing of townspeople and that of rural folk. The sophisticated townsman (fig. 3, *d*), with gabardine suit, European shoes, fez, and dark glasses is never mistaken for a man of the country (*bilad*). Urban and rural differences in women's dress are even more pronounced. The shrouded figures seen in the cities (fig. 3, *h*, *i*) contrast sharply with the unabashed women of the countryside.[12] Men and women of the bilad are promptly identified when they enter a town. From which bilad do they come? A generation ago, before the adoption of cotton cloth and other imported fabrics, this question was easy to answer. Garments were then made entirely of wool, locally sheared, spun, and woven, and each costume betrayed a provincial style. Today this distinction is not always clear; yet it is still possible to learn much about where a man comes from by the length and cut of his clothing, the way he ties his turban, and the nature of his footgear. Women's dress is even more explicit.

The basic garment of most tribesmen is a hooded cloak (*jillaba*). We can be sure that this garment was worn in the sixteenth century, for Leo Africanus describes Moroccans as being "clad in certain woolen cloaks or mantles, such as are used in Italy." "These mantles," he adds, "have certain hoods, which cover their heads and visages, so that you can scarce discern them to be men."[13] In Jbala and Ghmara, cloaks are knee-length, and there is no transition from hood to sleeves. The front of the Jbalan cloak usually has tufting or some other decoration. A generation ago this type of garment was worn in the Rif also, but today most Rifians wear a longer cloak, reaching halfway between knee and ankle. Rifian cloaks are no longer decorated, and most of them have definite shoulders (fig. 3, *a*). Throughout northern Morocco, brown is the preferred color for cloaks, but gentlemen of distinction occasionally wear white (fig. 3, *b*). One sometimes sees a gray or blue cotton jillaba and even a few of striped pattern, but such apparel is worn only by tribesmen who are more or less urbanized.

Cotton turbans (*rezza*) are the characteristic headgear. In the Rif, turbans are worn straight, two fingers above the eyebrows, and are always white. This

[12] Ernst Rackow, *El traje musulmán femenino en Africa del Norte* (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Africanos, 1953); and *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur Nordwest-Marokkos: Wohnraum, Hausrat, Kostüm* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1958).

[13] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 326. First edition, Venice, 1550.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2
Senhaja MX4

style is preferred by the Sanhajans also. The Jbalans place turbans farther back on the head, and often use colored cloth. Boys, everywhere in Morocco, wear a crocheted skullcap (*tagiya*) (fig. 3, *c*).

The most important undergarment is a pair of baggy cotton trousers (*serwal*) that reach to a little below the knees (fig. 3, *e*). The second undergarment, a high-necked shirt, is now being replaced by European shirts. It is always possible to find European apparel, especially parts of French and Spanish uniforms. In rural areas the transition has been from draped clothing of homespun wool to tailored garments, and then to European trousers, shirts, and jackets. European clothing is not always conspicuous, for the jillaba covers most of the body and is seldom removed.

Footgear was once a good index of tribal affiliation. Many Rifians still wear toe-strap sandals of palmetto fiber (*Chamaerops humilis*) or cross-strap sandals of alfa grass (*Stipa tenacissima*). A generation ago, Rifians also made clogs and stilts for use during the rainy season. When traditional footgear is given up, the change is usually to canvas sneakers or leather shoes, both imported from Europe (fig. 3, *a*, *d*). The leather slippers (*bilga*) now common in Jbala and Ghmara are not yet fully accepted in the Rif. The one advantage of this type of shoe is that it can be shed quickly at doorways. In Sanhaja as-Srair, buskins made of cloth wrapping, with cowhide or goatskin soles, are worn as galoshes.

Such apparel is usually worn without decoration or embellishment. Canes are popular, especially among older men, and occasionally an umbrella may be seen, but the powder horns, daggers, and leather bags, once indicative of a well-dressed man, are no longer worn. Powder horns disappeared with the introduction of cartridges and the extermination of the aoudad, or wild mountain sheep (*Ammotragus lervia*). The old-style scrip, with shoulder strap, was used to store powder, lead balls, and emergency rations. It was decorated with silk embroidery or inlaid with colored leather, and had long fringes and tassels. A generation ago, bags of this sort were a reliable indication of tribal affiliation. Today they are made only by craftsmen of Taghzut, who also produce handbags, watchbands, belts, and wallets for the tourist trade.

Like men's clothing, women's clothes were once made entirely of wool. The principal garment was a long strip of woolen cloth, wrapped around the body and fastened by a belt and pins or clasps. When cotton was introduced, women's garments lost their simple form and became tailored. The result was a different and more decorative costume. Jbalan and Ghmaran women dress very much alike, but with different color combinations. The women of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair wear skirts of plain white; the Jbalan women prefer red and white stripes (fig. 3, *e* and *f*). Ghmaran and Sanhajan women wear leggings of cotton cloth bound with threads of goat hair, while the Jbalan women wear leggings of leather. The Jbalan women, particularly on market and festival days, wear huge and highly decorated straw hats (fig. 3, *e*). Countrywomen never wear veils; when modesty is required they can cover their faces with shawls or head towels. A distinctive feature of woman's dress in Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair is a width of cotton cloth, wound about the neck and waist, by means of which an infant can be carried, or food and other objects (fig. 3, *f*).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

291 Rifian women present a different picture (fig. 3, *g*). They never wear leggings
[177] and are almost always barefoot. Sneakers may be worn on special occasions, but one never sees slippers. In recent years the Rifian markets have been flooded with inexpensive rubber shoes, usually green in color, which some of the younger women have adopted.

[531] Brilliant colors characterize the Rifian woman's outer robe, which is usually of red or yellow silk, worn over an inner robe of white cotton. Rifian women have recently begun to wear baggy trousers, usually blue. Unmarried girls wear a wide cotton headband with brightly colored embroidery, which is partly covered by
[177] a head towel. Married women in the mountains of Aith Tuzin and Aith Wariyaghar, and both married and single women in Sanhaja as-Srair, wear strands of black yarn around the crown of the head (fig. 3, *f*). One of the distinctive features of Rifian dress is a red woolen belt introduced about a generation ago
[171] from Melilla. It is worn by most Rifian women, but has not been adopted in
[184] Ghmara or Sanhaja as-Srair. In summer many Rifian women wear straw hats, but they do not approximate the huge size of the Jbalan "sombreros."

In general, there is a distinct difference in the pattern of women's dress in the
[184] Rif and in the western provinces. The brilliant yellow and red robes of the Rifian
[171] women are in striking contrast to the somber garments of Ghmara and Sanhaja as-Srair. These differences coincide with other cultural frontiers. The human geography of northern Morocco is a complicated pattern of areal succession and overlap; yet many lines coincide, and it is possible to speak of "culture areas."

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
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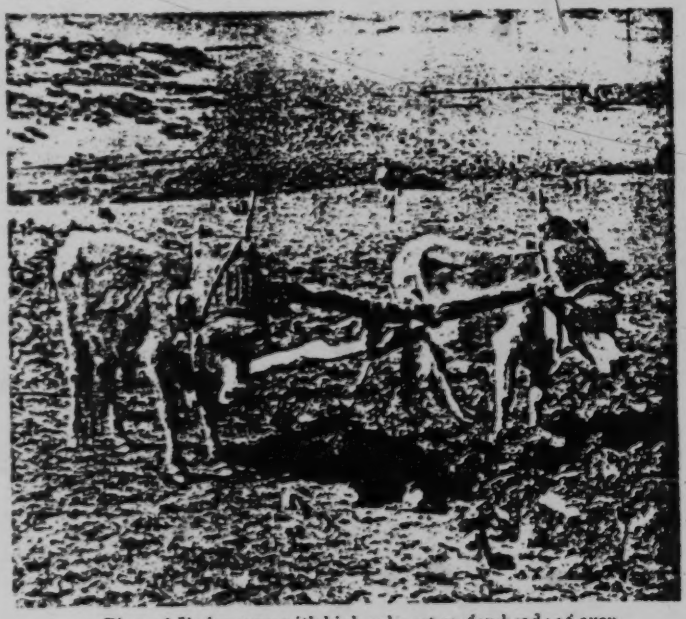

a. Plow of Jbalan type with high yoke set on foreheads of oxen.

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b. Mixed team in Garet.